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ABSTRACT

This report focuses on the experience of integration as perceived in the Portland, Oregon, Suburban Transfer Program, which completed its first year of operation in 1969. The voluntary plan buses 98 black students in grades one to six from inner-city schools to suburban districts. Open-ended, indepth interviews were taped with students, parents, principals, and teachers. The study includes a description of the interview procedures, a general overview of interview results, an analysis of the data, and a summary listing of findings and recommendations. The appendix includes a a summary of the interview responses systematically divided into views of the busing program, perceptions of teachers and teaching, and expectations for the future. (MF)

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EVALUATION OF THE
PORTLAND-SUBURBAN TRANSFER PROGRAM, 1968-69

Multnomah County, Oregon

by

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Mr. R. L. Ridgely, Chairman
Portland School District #1
Portland, Oregon

Dear Mr. Ridgely:

This evaluation of the Portland Suburban Transfer Program by the Bureau of Educational Research and Service is submitted in accordance with your contract of April 29, 1969 requesting this study. The study includes a description of the interview procedures as well as a general overview of the interview results and an analysis of that data. The Appendix includes a summary of the interview responses presented as systematically as possible. The replies have been divided into views of the busing program, perceptions of teachers and teaching, and expectations for the future.

The survey team members appreciate the valuable assistance and sincere cooperation extended by administrators and staff members involved, not only in the Portland Public Schools, but in the Beaverton School District, the David Douglas School District and the Lake Oswego School District. Citizens and school board members are to be commended for initiating this experimental program and for seeking its evaluation after the first year of operation.

It is hoped that this survey will be a valuable guide to the decisions faced by each school board in its efforts to provide the best educational experiences possible for children and youth. We hope that you will feel free to request other services as needed from staff members of the College of Education and its Bureau of Educational Research and Service.

Sincerely,

P. B. Jacobson

Paul B. Jacobson, Dean
College of Education

PBJ:gmr

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C. W. C.
E. D. J.
W. C. C.

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INTRODUCTION

This report is a presentation of the findings of a University of Oregon research team working with the Portland, Beaverton, David Douglas, and Lake Oswego School Districts under the sponsorship of the Bureau of Educational Research and Service. The Suburban Transfer Program is completing its first year of operation as a voluntary plan which buses 98 black students in grades one to six from the Area II schools in Portland to schools in the suburban Beaverton, David Douglas, and Lake Oswego districts.

The program was established to decrease the class loads in the Model Schools of Area II and to provide children in both city and suburban areas the opportunity to associate and learn together. Students were selected for busing according to the degree of crowding in the classroom, according to the student's favorable score on a test, and by the consent of the student's parents.

Some of the parents in the receiver school districts (Beaverton, David Douglas, and Lake Oswego) set up what was called the Host Parent Program. The function of the host parent is to respond in the event of an emergency involving the bused child when the child's parents would have transportation problems preventing their coming to the school immediately.

The place of evaluation in such a program is to help the decision-makers understand how the program has progressed and developed. If the history of the program is faithfully reported, it should reflect the problems and successes and, to some extent, predict future developments. In order to construct this history, the evaluation team set about to discover and

analyze the educational interests of the bused and receiver children and their respective teachers, administrators, and parents. The underlying educational philosophies which these interests reflect were subsequently crystallized, and a set of recommendations suggesting the kinds of changes necessary to create a program most suitable to all was developed.

Necessarily, the evaluators operated against a background of a certain basic understanding of the role of education in our changing society. It has become apparent that if formal education is to be of use to students, black or white--rich or poor, it must have survival value for them. An education that does not help the student increase his ability to overcome obstacles in a society which requires a vast set of credentials to enter most career fields is sadly deficient. Moreover, a contemporary education must teach the student about political and social survival in a world that is not only over 85 percent non-white but is becoming increasingly complex and interdependent.

In our own nation a pattern has developed whereby this country has become more and more organized about its metropolitan areas. Such a pattern is very clear in terms of communication, production and distribution of goods, and the distribution of services. At the same time, residential patterns indicate that the middle and upper-middle income white population is migrating to suburban areas. Recent survey figures from the United States Census Bureau show that over 500,000 whites are migrating to the suburbs each year. At a time when this country is experiencing a residential pattern increasingly segregated on the basis of race and income, there is also developing an occupational, cultural, and political existence which assumes considerable ability on the part of the population to relate to and interact with persons of differing cultures and experiences. This

process is an essential one and implies that the survival of today's student as a free, independent individual, in a free society, in a complex, interdependent world depends upon such an ability.

The program of busing students is one means whereby students and the communities in which they live may transcend the residential barriers which prevent the understanding of people whose experience is different from their own. The desegregated schoolroom can be the place where students learn about each other's history, aspirations, and class and ethnic life styles. A student can thus become more acquainted with the composition of the real world in which he must later work as well as exercise political and cultural choices as an adult. It is, in fact, this heterogeneity which is an important pre-condition for quality learning.

The focus of this report will be on the experience of integration as perceived in the Suburban Transfer Program. The reader should keep in mind that while much of the experience of this program was difficult for the participants, there were also definite rewards. Instituted on very short notice that did not permit adequate pre-planning, it was viewed by most people during this first year as an experimental innovation. The problems isolated and discussed in this report--as well as the recommendations for program revision--are not directed against individuals for a dereliction of their job, but are seen as a natural consequence of any innovation which attempts to deal with adequate education in a society permeated with intended and unintended racism.

This report has been organized into several sections which will be presented as follows: the methodology used in this study, a summary description of data gathered, and the uses to which the data were put. The interview data are first summarized in a general manner and then

analyzed specifically in the sections on Social Interaction, Selection of Children for Busing, Teachers, Curricular Changes, Race Perceptions in School, Administrative Structure and Community Involvement, Inservice Training, and the Host Parent Program. A summary of interviewees responses is found in the Appendix.

METHODOLOGY

In light of the procedures and content reported in the previous in-district transfer evaluations, it was determined that the present evaluation should concentrate on two general approaches. First, there should be more open-ended, in-depth interviews. Second, there should be definite focus upon specific concerns expressed by the administrative staffs of the districts involved, as well as the relevant problems which have come to light in the literature on the subject of busing students.

There are several reasons that the open-ended interview approach was used in an effort to discover the underlying attitudes of bused students, of their parents, and of the school personnel and parents in the receiver schools.* The information and data collected did not constitute a "Gallup Poll" or survey, but was taken from taped interviews between a researcher and a respondent, which lasted from one-half to one and one-half hours. These taped interviews were subsequently re-played and analyzed by other researchers before the final results were compiled.

It is recognized that the exclusive use of the interview methodology has certain limitations and that additional statistical research of such a program would be highly recommended. However, within the time and data limitations inherent in this study the interview procedure as structured and utilized did serve the study very well in several ways.

In the first place, it was possible to analyze the influence which the interviewer might have exerted on the response to the interviews.

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*Because of an additional commitment of resources by the Beaverton School District, the team was able to interview school personnel and some parents in that area.

The team also was aided in dealing in depth with the particular experiences which respondents felt were most important to themselves, while not excluding those which the interviewers or the administrative staffs deemed to be important. Finally, an open-ended approach provided the opportunity to probe at some length into the problems which the district administrators and past experience have indicated as important. Because the interviews were taped and open-ended, i.e., with no use of a pre-determined list of questions, it was possible to gain more than a superficial impression of what an individual felt or thought.

It should be made clear that financial and time resources were limited. Many of those most involved with the program could not be sampled for interviewing purposes. Thus, there is no sample of white students in the suburban participating schools. Furthermore, no interview data were procured from the administrative and teaching staffs or from the paired Host Parent Program in two of the three participating suburban school districts. However, the data gathered are sufficient to provide a working evaluation of the Suburban Transfer Program. It should also be mentioned here that in conducting interviews, black interviewers were used for the Area II sample and white interviewers were used for the Beaverton interviews.

The eight different groups of respondents which were interviewed were the following:

1. A random selection of 30 students taken from the 98 black students presently attending suburban schools as a part of the program.
2. Parents of the 30 bused students.
3. A random selection of 30 black students enrolled in the Area II schools attended by the bused children the previous year.

4. Parents of the 30 Area II non-bused students.
5. Those bused students and their parents who dropped out of the program.
6. The three principals of schools attended by bused students in Beaverton.
7. The 11 teachers of bused students in Beaverton.
8. Ten parents in Beaverton (seven of whom were host parents to the randomly selected bused students who went to Beaverton Schools).

In order to discuss how students and parents have changed because of a new program, one must be able to deal with what they would have been like had there been no program. Had the administrators of the program made the decision to evaluate the Suburban Transfer Program before it was in process, it would have been possible to interview the bused students and their parents before and after the year's busing program. In lieu of this, the study team interviewed a sample of black non-bused students and parents which provided some insight into the situation. By comparing the responses of the bused sample with the non-bused sample, they were able to ascertain some of the effects of the program on the people involved.

The cooperation of the sample population in undergoing the interviews was high. The returns for the small sample of Beaverton teachers, principals, and parents were 100 percent. In the case of the much larger Area II sample, 83 percent of the persons randomly selected were interviewed. The returns in <u>both</u> cases clearly indicate that the program has aroused much interest in both communities and further substantiates the pertinence of such programs in Portland's situation.

OVERVIEW OF INTERVIEW DATA

The following data are presented without analysis in order that the reader might gain some feeling for the total responses given to us in the interviews conducted.

In attempting to evaluate and compare school experiences as expressed by students, parents, and teachers, the interviewers included four main areas to be covered: (1) the classroom activities and content; (2) social structure and educational goals; (3) interpersonal relationships--student peers and images of the student's self; and (4) teaching. Under these general topics, questions were directed at discovering the significance of classroom situations on students' total experience and their preparation for everyday living. It was of special interest to find out what images children and parents have of school, what education's function should be, and how schools were or were not carrying out these functions.

Classroom Activities and Content

Answers received concerning classroom activities might be classified into two general categories--academic functions; and personal, social, or "human" functions--the two categories separated only for convenience. Parents and students mentioned the amount and quality of work and homework done; commitment and involvement of parents, students, and teachers in education; subjects enjoyed and disliked; and those subjects that needed to be added. They also mentioned the relevance of present learning experiences to the black student's future with respect to the broad situation in America as well as to individual careers and occupations. They were further concerned with the importance of learning to deal with other people

effectively within the school in order to gain a feeling of competence and contribution. Perhaps most important was the comparison of city and suburban schools with regard to the above points.

The parents' impressions of schools and their child's experience were varied. Many parents felt that not enough homework was being given to their children. They felt that a child's learning experience should continue at home with parent(s) being involved. This was particularly true for parents of non-bused students, but also to a considerable extent true among parents of bused students. Eight parents of bused students felt that suburban teachers had increased the homework load and that the quality and number of books had been increased. Four stated that their children had progressed academically; six mentioned more and/or better facilities; six felt that they could learn more; and five said they did harder work this year. Of the non-bused students, four thought the suburban schools had more to offer; and three mentioned that their own school was bad.

Parental involvement was an issue which was raised a great deal by the suburban teachers interviewed as well as host parents and black parents. Many teachers felt that parents of children in the program were not interested in their children or the children's education, as evidenced by their lack of participation in such things as PTA and their absence at school and teachers' conferences. However, all black parents interviewed (83 percent of sample taken) expressed interest as well as concern for their children's welfare in relationship to school and education. Parents mentioned long hours of work; lack of transportation; failure to understand purposes of meetings called; lack of communication between parents and teachers, particularly black parents with white teachers; and--in the case of parents of bused students--mistrust, embarrassment, and fear of

teachers, administrators, and white parents with whom some felt they had little in common.

Social Structure and Educational Goals

The next point to be discussed concerns the meaning of educational experiences to the future of black people as to their role in the social structure of the United States, both individually and as a group. (Part of this discussion will be dealt with in the section on teachers.)

Some parents seemed to agree strongly that training, education, skills, and certification are important if one is going to become successful, at least in the sense which the word is most commonly understood, i.e., to come up in the world, make something of one's self, have self-respect, etc. Parents saw various ways for their children to attain these ends, however. Four of the parents of the bused children stated that the suburban schools could provide their children with a broader choice of future career orientations. One father said, "I personally like the school (suburbs) because he (son) is getting the opportunity to associate with people he will be working with and going to college with in later life (white children)." One mother saw busing as an answer because she felt that the suburban schools were better in terms of academics and future goal orientations, but that she could never move "out there." "It would be out of the question. I couldn't afford it, and even if I could, I wouldn't want to live anywhere I wasn't wanted."

Others believed that the black people had gone to the white man asking for pity long enough. It was now time for the blacks to help themselves. This was heard specifically in statements concerning the construction of better black communities, with better schools, more black

teachers, and a community voice in the policies of those schools. Four of the parents of non-bused students and seven of the parents of bused students said that there should be no difference in quality between the city schools and the suburban schools. Of benefit to all children would be an exchange program where white parents would bus their children to the city schools to broaden their own children's horizons. The black children would be sent to the suburbs in the same spirit. Six of the parents of bused students thought that two-way busing was necessary. Four of the parents of non-bused students would approve of busing if a two-way program was initiated. Short-term goals of such a program would be enhanced educational opportunities for all; long-term goals would be the freedom to live, play, work, achieve, and attend schools where one desired, whether black or white. At this point some interesting comparisons can be made between parents of bused children and parents of non-bused children with respect to occupational goals and future plans for their children. (See Tables 1 and 2.)

It appears that while parents' occupational expectations were not drastically different between the two groups (if anything, parents of non-bused children had higher expectations), diversity was much greater in the choices found among the bused students. It might be assumed that this difference is due to increased exposure of the bused students to new ideas and a variety of student peers and teachers. For example, it is interesting to speculate on the possible differential effect of television content upon occupational choice (see Table 3).

The difference in the number of bused versus non-bused students who want to be nurses is significant (two versus nine, respectively). However, one cannot be certain that the difference is due to the transfer program. It could be due to the type of student who chose to participate in the program.

TABLE 1

PARENTS' EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL PLANS FOR THEIR CHILDREN

Item	Parents of Bused Students (N = 23)	Parents of Non-Bused Students (N = 20)
Mentioned college as important, necessary, or desirable for their children.	8	11
Wanted their children to do whatever they wanted.	6	8
No particular plans.	4	1
Specific occupations mentioned were as follows:		
Nurse	2	
Electrician	1	
Build cars	1	
Doctor		1
Teacher		1
Telephone Operator		1

Note: Disparities between column totals and the number of people interviewed reflect lack of answers or multiple responses.

TABLE 2

STUDENTS' EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL PLANS

Bused Students (N = 26)	Non-Bused Students (N = 28)
4 mentioned plans for college	4 mentioned plans for college
4 teacher	4 wanted to do what their parents did
2 nurse	5 didn't know
2 carpenter	9 nurse
2 fireman	2 teacher
1 sports	2 policeman
1 pilot	1 store clerk
1 lawyer	1 pilot
1 business manager	1 sports
1 secretary	1 doctor
1 doctor	
1 policeman	
1 truck driver	
1 build things	
1 postman	

Note: Disparities between column totals and the number of people interviewed reflect lack of answers or multiple responses.

TABLE 3

T. V. PROGRAMS MENTIONED

Bused Students		Non-Bused Students	
Number of Viewers	Program	Number of Viewers	Program
6	Julia	9	Julia
5	Gilligan's Island	2	Bewitched
4	Mod Squad	2	Flintstones
2	Land of the Giants	2	Popeye
1	Bewitched	1	General Hospital
1	McHale's Navy	1	McHale's Navy
		1	Mod Squad
		1	One Life to Live
		1	Tom Jones

Interpersonal Relationships

The area of interpersonal relations, social skills, and development of the self and self-image seems to be an important one. Peer relationships, students' perception of significant others, and student-teacher interaction will be discussed under this heading. A great variety of responses was received concerning these points, with many students and parents making both positive and negative cases of their experiences.

Many of the bused children had some rather serious complaints related to the present topic. While nine students said there were fewer fights in the suburban schools and ten said one could make more friends there, nine said they missed their friends in the city schools; seven said their old

friends in the city did not like their being bused; eight said there were not enough black students in the suburban schools; eight had been called derogatory names; and nearly half (11) of the students responding felt they did not belong and were not a part of their new school after attending there for eight months. The parents of non-bused students seemed to be sensitive to this problem without having bused their children, as seven stated that they would have to know that their children were welcome in the suburbs before allowing them to be bused. Of non-bused students, three predicted that they would not know anyone or have any friends if bused; two said that suburban children would stare, laugh, or call them names; and two felt suburban people were prejudiced. Parents of bused children voiced some rather elaborate arguments in statement of the need for more black students to be bused to suburbs. Two of the parents stated that suburban people had benefited more than the direct participants of the program, the black children and their parents. Six parents revealed that they believed that improvement of race relations and white people's images of black people were as important or more so than any of the other concerns of the suburban schools such as lowering class loads in the city or "doing something for Negroes."

On the other hand, one bused student suggested that the suburban schools were better because they were less crowded. As mentioned, nine of the bused students said there was less fighting in the suburban schools, as did six parents of bused children, with 12 of the non-bused students expressing that the other children in their schools were bad and/or fought too much. (This was given as a reason for wanting to be bused.) Also, two non-bused students voiced the opinion that broader personal experiences were available and that one could learn more about others in the suburban

schools. Nine parents of the bused agreed with this statement. Two bused students included as advantages to the suburban schools the fact that there were not as many black children.

Teaching

This brings us to the very important area of teaching. The findings discussed here related mainly to how Area II students and parents viewed teaching. Of the bused students responding, 14 said they liked their new teachers, with six saying that suburban teachers were better and/or nicer. One student did not like her suburban teachers and thought the city schools were better. Five students were indifferent. Table 4 lists the qualities of "good teachers" and "bad teachers" found in the suburban schools, as expressed by the bused students.

Three of the non-bused students gave as a reason for wanting to be bused their belief that teachers in the suburbs were better and/or nicer. Only one child said that one reason for not wanting to be bused was that he liked his present teacher too well.

Table 5 shows the qualities of "good teachers" and "bad teachers" found in the city schools, as expressed by non-bused students.

Four parents of bused children said there was better teaching in the suburban schools. With reference to black-white teacher differences, only one parent of bused children mentioned anything; this comment was that black teachers were not necessarily better for black children. The picture was somewhat different for parents of the non-bused students, particularly on the topic of black and white teachers (see Table 6).

The above data provide the backdrop for the sections on analysis and recommendations which follow.

TABLE 4

BUSED STUDENT COMMENTS ON TEACHERS IN SUBURBS

Number of Comments	Comments
	<u>On "Good Teachers" in Suburbs</u>
7	helps with your work
6	does things with you
5	teaches well
2	gives you a warning before punishment
3	is not mean
	<u>On "Bad Teachers" in Suburbs</u>
6	yells at you
2	is mean to students
2	blamed you for things you didn't do
1	wouldn't help you enough
1	gave too much work

TABLE 5

NON-BUSED STUDENT COMMENTS ON TEACHERS IN CITY SCHOOLS

Number of Comments	Comments
	<u>On "Good Teachers" in City Schools</u>
5	helps you do your work
4	does things with you
2	tells you stories
2	teaches well
2	was pretty
2	does not yell at you
1	gives you a warning before sending you home
	<u>On "Bad Teachers" in City Schools</u>
4	blames you for things you didn't do
3	is mean to you
3	yells at you
1	makes you stay after school
1	tells children that their parents don't care about them because they won't sign notes sent home
2	doesn't give you enough time to do your work
3	won't help you

TABLE 6

PARENT COMMENTS ON BLACK TEACHERS VERSUS WHITE TEACHERS
(BY PARENTS OF NON-BUSED)

Number of Comments	Parent Comment on Black Teachers Versus White (Non-Bused)
6	should be more black teachers in the city schools
2	black teachers work better for black students
2	parents can speak better with, feel freer with black teachers
2	white teachers are prejudiced
3	white teachers don't understand the problems black people face
3	black teachers are not necessary in city schools
3	if black teachers do not care about the children, they are no different or better than white teachers who don't care about the children

ANALYSIS OF DATA*

Background for Analysis

An evaluation of the busing program must consider how the bused students fit into their new social situation. Bused students, black parents, host parents, teachers, and principals were all asked what they felt the bused child's experience was like and how it could be improved. The bused student who was in a class with at least three other black students did not specifically discuss the feeling of aloneness with so many white classmates. However, those students interviewed who had only one black classmate or no black classmates felt that it would be better if there were more black peers.

Those children with complaints were in both the upper and the lower grades. One second grader in a class with only two blacks said he did not feel as if he belonged at the new school. "White kids trip you and hit you and sneak up on you." He liked his old friends in Area II better than his new friends because "they're my type and they are nice to me." A fifth grade girl told of experiences when she was called nigger or when she was on the playground and no one would play with her. She said that her friends back home (Area II) wanted to know how she could go out there "with all those Caucasians who are so prejudiced." In the wisdom of a fifth grader, she said she felt that if they (the whites) came to Area II, the black children would treat them the same way "so I don't blame them."

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*See appendix--for a detailed breakdown of the data collected.

Still she says, "It's kind of embarrassing now we two are the only Negroes in our room and whenever she (the teacher) mentions Negroes, everybody turn around and look at us."

The interviews with the parents of non-bused children of the sample revealed that six of these parents had refused to bus their students or would refuse because of their fear that the children would be stigmatized or pampered in schools where there were so few black students. One mother who has her three boys bused within Portland says:

> I actually wouldn't want my girls to go out to any school where there are less than 40-50 (Negro) students. Because where there are only three to four Negroes in a school of whites they pamper them, think of them as a curiosity, or baby them. I would like my children to be assimilated with a whole group rather than set apart because they are what they are.

Throughout the interviews parents were echoing these words. They want their children to be able to maintain their identity and not to be treated in such a way that would cause the child to distort his view of himself.

In interviews with the Beaverton teachers, principals, and host parents, the replies to the question concerning increasing the numbers of the bused children indicated that no one wanted to overcrowd the Beaverton schools. However, in all but four cases the Beaverton interviewees felt that the program should be expanded if organized in a fashion that would prevent overcrowding. One principal strongly recommended that his school be sent more black students next year and that the number include children in each grade from the first through the sixth. He felt that such a request was backed by the teachers in his school who were anxious to make the program an integral part of the school. Although no Beaverton interviewee recommended that the program be discontinued, three teachers suggested that the problems created by this year's program should be solved before

more Portland students were sent. These problems will be discussed in a later section.

In all cases the teachers in Beaverton felt that the bused children who had remained with the program throughout the year were well integrated into the classroom situation. However, by their own observation they also pointed out quite frequently that in the lunch room and on the playgrounds the black children could most frequently be found clustering together. Various reasons were offered as to why the bused students clustered together during their unstructured free time. That these children spend one and one-half hours together on the bus each day certainly would encourage strong friendship ties. Perhaps it is also true that the type of games the bused children play differ from those of their white peers. This clustering tendency does not <u>necessarily</u> suggest that the bused students are purposely excluded by their school environment. It would seem to indicate, however, that the black students have certain common experiences not shared by the white students. Some of these experiences are negative ones resulting from conscious and unconscious racial discrimination. Conscious discrimination mentioned by the interviewed students would include incidents of name calling (eight bused students mentioned this) and exclusion from white friendship circles (11 bused children felt they did not belong). Unconscious discrimination would include such things as lack of recognition on the part of teachers and principal of the need for including in their discussion of the development of the country some of the innumerable contributions made by black people. Such negative experiences can be dealt with, constructively, by recognizing the problem and working it out as part of the educational experience in the class.

The positive common experiences relate to the students recognizing each other as part of a distinct group of people of which they may be proud. This was demonstrated in the interviews with black students in their comments indicating pride in the color of their skin and the texture of their hair and their enthusiasm over T.V. shows featuring black actors.

The integration which occurs in the busing program is indeed a most complex social arrangement. Real integration can be seen only when distinct groups of people interact on an equal basis with equal opportunity in a way such that neither group loses its special identity and history. The black students should never be placed in a position of total give and adjustment--"You come out here and be one of us." Instead they need be encouraged to develop and maintain their own self-identity (pride in themselves--both their physical selves and their life style) as should be the case with any child. Both whites and blacks should be allowed to negotiate their interaction with equal strengths and equal understanding of each other. The effectiveness of the educational process is measured in part by its ability to equip its students to cope with a future society and world primarily characterized by diversity.

It is out of this conclusion that the study team urges an increase in the number of black children placed in any one class. The presence of several black students per integrated class, instead of one or two, will not only prevent the development of new stereotypes in the white mind, but it will also allow the bused children a reasonable number of peers with which to identify their common experience.

It should be further stressed that these bused students need not only black peers but also blacks in positions of responsibility and authority. Serious consideration should be given to obtaining black staff members

even if this means intensive recruitment. An educational system with integrity is one which not only provides equal opportunity to its students, but also recognizes this equality of opportunity as essential to the performance of its own functions, i.e., the presence of black staff members in positions of responsibility within its schools.

Selection of Children for Busing

As to how the bused students should be selected a wide range of opinions was found, both in the urban and in the suburban communities. Among the black parents questioned about selection, six said that they felt the children should be "creamed" or drawn from the top levels of ability so that there would be no chance that black problem children or slow learners would perpetuate the myth that Negroes are intellectually inferior people. All others said that they felt that the bused students should not be creamed. Several of these were concerned that the Area II schools would suffer if their best students were sent out. In the Beaverton schools the interviewees were convinced that the students had not been creamed, in every instance. Most significantly, none felt that bused children should have the highest IQ's. The consensus seemed to be that random sampling would be fine as long as the emotionally disturbed children were not included in the sample. For some teachers and 75 percent of the Beaverton host parents interviewed, any child admitted to the Area II schools could potentially be included in the sample sent to Beaverton.

If the suburban schools would sincerely like to provide their own students with a realistic picture of the black society, the study team feels that a random sampling of all Area II students who volunteer for the transfer program would be the best means to get such a representative cross section. (Exceptions

to the process of random selection should be considered where the need exists for special pupil services not available in the suburban schools or where there seems to be little doubt that existing emotional problems would be aggravated by the transfer to the detriment of the child's welfare.) Because of the special nature of the program, it is recommended to continue as a volunteer program. Of course, in order for the program to be effectively "volunteer," the entire Area II community must be well informed of the nature of the program and be given information on how to volunteer their children. After parents have asked to have their children participate, a random selection of these names (with an allowance for siblings) should be made to fill the minimum quota agreed upon by the Area II and the suburban administrators participating in the program.

In such a method, the crucial step is dissemination of information in the urban community. Well-written news stories explaining the goals of the program as well as practical advantages and disadvantages could be helpful. Notes to all parents of school-age children in the area with the same information could be mailed out. Community meetings might be held to help explain the program and to get new ideas for it from the people of Area II, as seems to be the policy in some of the suburban communities. These efforts should in no way suggest that the Area II schools should be neglected or left unimproved for the majority of students who will either choose to remain or, having volunteered, be turned down for lack of space.

Closely related to this suggestion on a random selection and wide dissemination of information is the possibility suggested by some parents of voluntary two-way busing. Should significant numbers of students decide to make the transfer both ways, overcrowding would not be a problem. The program should remain voluntary. Information about it as well as information

about the recent innovations in the Model Schools should be well disseminated into the suburban communities. If great care was given to administrative details in making such a program operative, the ideal of truly integrated education would seemingly be better approximated. Considering the black people's growing hostility to token integration, fringe benefits, and inferior social services, one might justifiably predict that such programs as the one-way busing programs will soon be considered another compromise which looks upon the black community as inferior. In interviews with black parents, there were ten who felt that two-way busing would be a much better system. As one mother put it, "We got to always go to them. Why don't they come to us?" Repeatedly, the attitude was--"We've learned about them, how they live and what they think. We did so to survive. Now they (the whites) should learn about us."

White people now, regardless of where they live, do need to learn about the experience of the black people if everyone is to help insure a free society in the future. Host parents in the Beaverton area agreed that two-way busing was preferable to one-way busing. Most said their only reservation would be the overcrowded conditions they understood existed in the inner city schools. Other parents felt the value of going to the inner city schools as a social learning experience would outweigh any possible disadvantages. Without additional evidence one might assume that the comments of host parents might not be typical of all Beaverton parents. The interest shown by the host parents in a two-way busing program, however, makes it worth mentioning as a volunteer program to be seriously considered as a possible development of the present program.

Teachers

Teachers have the greatest responsibility and the most potentially creative role of all those involved in the Suburban Transfer Program. They did not suggest the program and some may not even wholly support it. But it is the teacher who must work it through. Because of the nature of their role, teachers commit themselves to increasing the ability of all their students to survive in this rapidly changing world full of complexities and inconsistencies. Busing programs have the potential to be of great service in this respect.

Since all eleven teachers of integrated classes and three principals of integrated schools in the Beaverton District were interviewed and none in the other two districts, comments regarding teachers' and principals' experiences with the program will relate primarily to the Beaverton sample.

Each teacher and principal was asked to comment on a variety of topics. The dialogue covered their opinions on areas such as curriculum, language styles, experiences, rules, expectations, testing, administrative procedures, and their feelings of the overall progress of the program.

In Beaverton the Suburban Transfer Program was accepted only a few days before the fall term began, and for teachers and principals the news of the program first came through television, news articles and rumor. Principals stated that there was "no time to prepare for any training," and that there was "no pre-planning for staff and inservice preparation." One principal mentioned that they "weren't in on the planning of the objectives"; therefore, they were not sure what were the major goals of the program. For this reason they could not give any conclusive opinions on what goals were significant and what goals "needed to be changed."

When asked how they presented the program to their teachers at the beginning of the year, each principal stressed that their information centered around the idea that the bused students should in every way be understood and treated as any other student. Teaching and disciplining should continue as always. Yet, in further discussion principals and teachers alike pointed out that indeed these students were treated differently. The bused students could not help but be a novelty. Some of the interviewed school staff members indicated that almost everyone in the school knew the names of the few bused students attending the suburban school. In most cases the bused students were recognized and spoken to wherever they went in the building. Some teachers complained that the principals themselves treated these children as special and would even refer to them as guests.

For the teachers who tried hard to treat all children the same, it was difficult not to be aware that in many ways these children simply were not exactly like their upper middle-class white students. One teacher noted that some words were used by the bused students when they were angered which simply were never used in this school. It was difficult to accept the fact that this school had indeed changed since the new students came even though this teacher insisted that these words not be used in school no matter what their relevance to that black child. Two other teachers noted how they had been faced with questions concerning black people which they could not begin to answer.

In talking with the teachers and principals about the necessity of including black history in the curriculum, five teachers and one principal felt that this was a relevant consideration. Others felt it would only overstress the fact that the black students were there. "Don't stress this color

thing," commented one teacher. It must be stressed that the bused students should not be treated as curiosities, as special guests or as "adorable little things." They must, however, be understood for what they are. Their skin is indeed dark and their social experience because of this fact has been different from the white man's in this country. The essential point of this analysis is that the survival of the black student in today's world requires educational experiences which are different from those found in the curriculum of the typical suburban classroom.

Curriculum and the Process of Learning in an Integrated Setting

The research team did not see its responsibility as including suggestions of specific curricular changes or books to be read. Structural changes dealing with the problems described by all those involved in the program were seen as the responsibility of the research team. Therefore, the following discussion deals with a description of what the research team sees as a three-stage process of learning which characterizes racial integration in the lower elementary grades. This description provides the context within which the concluding recommendations about inservice training can be interpreted.

The first contact between black students and white students is visual. The visual cues indicate to the children that there is a difference in skin coloration, hair texture, etc. These visual cues are followed closely by a desire to experience the differences. In the white students' case, this provided the first chance they had to break out of their all-white world and

realize that peers with black skins are peers and not just black skins. More than one Beaverton interviewee related how for the first few days after the black students arrived, all the kids were rubbing the back of their hands together to see if any of that black or white coloring would rub off as well as feeling that stringy hair or that kinky hair to see what it felt like. This is interpreted to mean that the first and second graders at Beaverton, at least, were not developing the typical prejudices found among white Americans. The students from Area II were familiar with the white world--they had to look at it every day in all aspects of the mass media. However, almost all the bused students saw the response of the Beaverton students as novel to some degree.

The teachers also seemed to have learned something about race perceptions, although in many cases they did not appear to be conscious of it. On five occasions we had interviewees mention voluntarily five or six times throughout the interview that they "treat the kids all the same out here." Although the persons interviewed may have contradicted themselves, they still seemed compelled to make this statement. This situation seems to be due to several factors. First, it is administration policy to treat all children the same. Secondly, the teachers feel guilty about the fact that they do have some uncomfortable feelings about the black students. Thirdly, contrary to many of their pre-conceived feelings, the black students do act very much like the white first and second graders. However, for some teachers it has taken a long time to get over the "They're such cute little dolls" stage.

Verbal labeling consists of the words used by students in referring to each other, and whether these words have a positive or a negative connotation gives one some indication of a student's ability to empathize with another's

experience. This describes the second process of learning which is prominent in an integrated setting. There is reason to believe that some of the white students in Beaverton are beginning to develop the ability to empathize as whites with some of the black students' experience with racism. For example, one teacher related that half way through the year a new white student arrived in her class. He, like many of the other white students when they first meet the black students, referred to the latter as "niggers." The white students who had called the black students "nigger" the most at the beginning of the year, were the ones most upset by the new student's use of the term. Our interpretation is that this change of attitude results from the white students' developing ability to empathize with the black student. Other instances related by the host parents describing discussions with their own children about the black students indicate similar realizations. In some cases the bused students have indicated an awareness of this in their own interviews. The black youth growing up in American society has traditionally had to become wise in the ways and manners of the white man in order to survive. Such is still the case, although now the black youth has more political power. An interpretation is that the teachers have not been as quick to begin developing a true empathetic ability. This is natural for adults in a predominantly white society and should be dealt with in the inservice training programs of the teachers. The use of video-taping and open-ended interviews with the students proved to be directly relevant to this problem. The following section of this paper will deal with this in more detail. An assumption is made that there are no completely unprejudiced people in this country. The problem is not eliminating prejudice, but becoming aware of it so that it can be dealt with in an open manner and not covered with guilt. The

professional ethics of the teacher require that she not show prejudice. However, this often obstructs the teacher's development of an awareness of unintended or unconscious prejudicial treatment of a student. It is a problem best handled not in listing points of unconscious prejudice on the part of teachers, but in providing the resources and mechanisms to deal with them, such as the inservice training program discussed above.

The final level of learning has to do with the degree to which the school systems are capable of formally integrating the students' experiences in the first two stages of the process with a rational and intellectual understanding of race and history in the United States. There was little evidence of this. The lack in that area of concern can best be exemplified by the teacher who related that on Thanksgiving, while talking about the Pilgrims and where the founders of this country came from, she was unable to reply when a black student asked where he came from. Another example is the teacher who explained that the only black heroes she taught about were men like Abraham Lincoln. She related how on Lincoln's birthday she had told the children about his freeing the slaves which was the reason the Negro people loved him so much. What she left unexplained was (1) that Lincoln didn't free all the slaves--only those in the states not in control of federal troops; (2) that such a move was a very effective war maneuver; (3) that Lincoln often stated publicly and privately that he by no means felt that Negroes were equal to whites, and so forth.

Being comfortable or feeling natural around people who look different from yourself and being able to empathize somewhat with those people in their day-to-day experience is of little value unless one understands the

historical circumstances which have influenced their experience as a group of people as well as the contemporary milieu which has influenced their individuality. It is not just heroes which both black and white students must come to understand, but the complex political, economic, social, cultural, and ideological forces which have influenced our present and past circumstances. It is asserted that those who do not know their history are doomed to repeat it, but also that the history of black people is part and parcel of our history, and our history part and parcel of theirs. It need not be stated again, but this is becoming more and more the case every day as witnessed by the mass media. Rational decision-making requires that we understand not only what the world is like today, but how it got that way.

Administrative Structure and Community Involvement

Of necessity in an innovative effort such as the Suburban Transfer Program, the deployment of staff and their responsibilities are in a state of flux. That is as it should be. Therefore, this section is not intended as a description of the failure of individuals to act responsibly. Instead, it constitutes the necessity to explore some alternative ways to meet the needs of integration described in the report.

One of the major criticisms of the program voiced by all teachers and principals was its late start. In Beaverton, the busing program was initiated several weeks after school began. These interviewees stated that the program should begin when school opens and not several weeks later. The first few weeks are usually spent in "getting acquainted"; students meet newcomers, revive old friendships, and get to know their teachers. The new students truly need to be in school during this period to participate fully in the social sorting. Since some schools have an open house in late spring for prospective new students (first graders) and their parents, it could be most helpful if a tentative list of bused students could be provided the suburban schools by mid-April, so students to be bused might also take part in the open house.

Another area of concern stressed by the Beaverton principals and teachers involved the communication links between Area II and the suburban districts. In particular, the suburban schools felt that some students had been handed over to their care without clarification of "who the student was" in terms of tests and other permanent records. Such an omission actually can be a positive improvement over the non-redemptive nature with which record-keeping can categorize students. As was discussed in the Model Schools, August 1968,

Report to the District One Board of Education, "Teacher's expectations influence pupil's achievements." If, in fact, transferring a student from Area II to a suburban school does bring about change in his ability, behavior and attitudes, then test and behavior records from the Area II school would not be adequate information on which to base expectations as to a student's future performance in the suburban school.

In addition, it was felt that many things might affect the attendance of the bused student, but that his suburban school was not always informed concerning enforced absences. For example, the Area II schools administered special tests to these students, and at least one school was not informed that there would be a test nor what the test would be. This lack of communication resulted in needless conflict and alienation between the suburban and urban staffs. Nonetheless, part of what the teachers and principals in Beaverton are asking is to whom should they be responsible for these students, what are they really expected to do, and what can they find out about each student to help him achieve these expectations.

Such clarification is particularly important when a problem relating to a bused student arises. Thus, if the suburban school decides to fail a bused student, should the Area II administration have anything to say about the efficacy of such a decision? Or if a child needs special counseling or testing, should the Area II or the suburban districts provide the service? If the teachers or principals have criticisms to offer or questions to ask about the program, to whom should they address themselves?

Perhaps the answer here is that the responsibility should be jointly shared, or for some things Area II can be responsible while for others the suburban districts can have the main responsibility. These lines of accountability should be drawn out clearly for the principals and teachers. It

would be helpful if the principals and administrators in the suburban districts and those responsible for the program in Area II could meet together regularly (once monthly or every six weeks) in order to share problems and successes with each other as well as to develop some broader perspectives on the program.

Channels of communication and lines of accountability appear to be equally hazy between the black parents and the suburban school staffs. Teachers throughout the interviews complained of an apparent lack of interest on the part of the Area II parents toward their bused children. Four black children are being failed in one suburban school, a number which represents 33 percent of the black population of students at that school. Were the same to be happening with the white students, their parents would see to it that changes were quickly made. However, when the black parents were informed that their children were being held back a year, they all agreed to this decision. Yet the Area II parents are deeply concerned for their children. Their responses to the interviews indicated a very strong commitment to education, as has another study* of Area II parents. This study, in fact, finds that these black parents compared to white parents of similar income and education are much more aware of the problems and politics of school and education and have a greater commitment to a formal education for their children. Out of the 48 parents in Area II who were interviewed, 19 mentioned college as important, necessary or desirable for their children; 14 wanted their children to do whatever they wanted; four had no particular plans; and others mentioned such jobs as a telephone operator, a car builder, an electrician, and two mentioned a nurse.

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*Clyde DeBerry, Dynamics of Desegregation in the Schools (INCERBS, University of Oregon, 1968), pp. 133-137.

It is felt that an understanding of this apparent contradiction between parents' concerns and their actions lies in the nature of racism as defined in American society* and more particularly that subtle form of racism found in the white communities of the non-Southern states. The Kerner Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Spring, 1966) has documented--particularly in the case of schools--the kinds of institutional racism which black people have known about all their lives.

Some teachers were not too perceptive of their own responses to the Area II parents and drew conclusions about these parents which did not at all correlate with what those parents said in their own interviews. The team is not suggesting that any teachers or principals are guilty of racism. An effort is being made to point out that one does not grow up in a racist culture and society without being influenced in his thinking and feeling about people of a different color. The issue is not becoming unprejudiced--no one is and no one is about to magically become so. The issue is how to become aware of one's prejudice, particularly in the case of the classroom teacher. As far as is known, the only effective way of dealing with the subtle racism with which this society is now confronted is to develop one's consciousness of it and to discuss it openly. The recommendations at the end of the paper suggest structural changes which can <u>begin</u> to deal with race relations.

The problem, then, is how can one deal with the influence of that subtle racial relationship between the Area II parent and the suburban teacher as well as the relationship between the Area II child and the suburban teacher. How can a teacher be as effectively accountable to an Area II parent as she

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* The use of the term "racism" is not narrowly used to denote only the racial bigot. With black students, the subtle realization that a teacher does not expect as much from them as from the white students may be a problem of even greater magnitude than an open confrontation with racial bigots.

is to a suburban parent? Structural changes need to be made which will provide for effective channels of communication and accountability between black parents and white teachers.

Inservice Training for Teachers

There must be inservice training but of a different nature than that commonly encountered in school systems. Such inservice training should provide ample opportunity for teachers and Area II parents to meet together in disucssion groups with knowledgeable leadership to provide maximum potential dialogue. Thereby, teachers should have adequate opportunities to present their problems to the parents and the Area II parents adequate opportunity to present their problems to the teachers. In addition, each would have the support of their peers for interpretation and analysis. Effective feedback mechanisms should be built into the inservice training. One such feedback mechanism would be video-taped classroom sessions to provide both the teacher and the parent with concrete situations for discussion. In addition, having black interviewers interview the bused students and white interviewers interview the white students--both using an open-ended approach--would provide the teachers and parents with the students' image of what that classroom is like.

Important for the teacher would be a familiarity with the literature which describes both the present and the past experiences of black people in the United States. Ideally, one should be talking about a two-way busing of staff as well as of students, for this would provide much greater opportunity for an exchange of ideas and good learning experiences. A superficial tour of facilities by teachers and principals might be worse than nothing, for it could give the impression that one is understanding much more than is

warranted. But some consideration could be given to a short-term exchange of teachers from one to four weeks provided they were given access to adequate resources to allow for a meaningful learning experience. Some thought should also be given to the city of Berkeley's experience with their busing program which indicates that inservice training for non-teaching staff in the school building is also important, particularly in the case of personnel in the principal's office.

The Host Parent Program

An aspect of the busing program which reaches into the suburban communities is the Host Parent or Paired Parent Program which exists in Beaverton, Lake Oswego, and in some schools in David Douglas. This evaluation of the program will be based primarily on the Beaverton program because of the opportunity provided to speak with some of the host parents in that community (10 host parents were there). Information on the other districts' program comes only from the comments of their bused students in the sample.

The Host Parent Program is an attempt to provide the bused students with someone near the school to turn to, particularly in the time of sickness or other emergencies. No similar efforts in studies of other programs were found in the literature. This particular aspect of the Suburban Transfer Program might at first appear to be peripheral to the integrated classroom. However, it has met with significant praise from the Area II parents and their bused children who have host families. The parents of the bused students say they feel more comfortable having their child going so far off every day knowing that the host parents are there. For those Area II parents (five of the sample) who had visited with the host parents or whose children had visited in the host parents' homes, enthusiasm for the Host Parent Program

was much greater than that expressed by the bused sample which had not formed any social ties with their assigned host parents (three of the sample). Thus four-fifths of the 15 bused children who mentioned host parents in the sample feel that the host families are friends and not only emergency families.

Most contacts between the host families and the bused families are made in the suburban homes. Except for formal visits of the two sets of parents usually occurring after a school function, these contacts are made by the bused students with their host families. According to both the bused student parents and the host families, the best situation for "natural" friendship ties occurs when the host child is in the same class with the bused student. All of the host parents interviewed felt the best situation was one when the contacts could be made through the two children's shared friendships. All wished to avoid any action that could be interpreted as "pushy."

All of the host parents interviewed felt the idea of host parents was a good one. Two stated that they were not too interested in continuing as host parents, although they supported the program. All host parents interviewed expressed some concern that they had not developed any really informal social ties with the bused student's family. Many, however, felt that the major concern should be ties between the children and their host families. It appears that this is a realistic approach and eliminates any pressures on both sets of parents to form friendships for the sake of being nice to each other.

Out of the ten host parents interviewed one host parent said they would not have accepted the role had they been told that they would be expected to be anything more than emergency parents. They approved of the program but had other commitments which would not allow them to have such an involvement. Another host parent only agreed to the program because the recruiter was from

her group of friends. The rest of the sample had been anxious to become a part of the program and expressed interest in increasing the social contacts made thus far. They also felt that the best way to avoid recruiting parents with either insufficient interest or too little time for the program was to better inform the prospective host parents of the scope of the program.

It is strongly recommended that all suburban parents in an integrated classroom should be contacted, informed of the program, and given the opportunity to participate. Recruiters should be careful not to present the host parents' role as a "duty" or as "the thing to do." If more parents volunteer to be host parents than are needed to give each child in a class one parent, the bused students could then be assigned two host families. These dual assignments could help to eliminate the chance of a bused student's getting matched with an inactive host family. Furthermore, by contacting all parents in the integrated classrooms, social ties and activities outside the class among bused students and suburban students might be enhanced.

Another recommendation is that previous host parents interested in the program might be called upon to help contact the other parents in their child's room. Before any of the prospective host parents make a final commitment to participate in the program, there should be one or two meetings planned by previous host parents and the Host Parent Coordinator, where many aspects of the program could be well-aired. Perhaps a small book list could be offered. A reading of previous Transfer Program Evaluations might also help to inform these parents about the goals and the problems of the actual program. Recruitment should take place in the spring before families begin their summer vacations (or at least the first contacts should be made before this time).

Because 30 percent of the host families interviewed expressed a feeling of guilt over their lack of involvement in the program, it is also recommended that in the training sessions with prospective host parents, and in sessions throughout the year, these parents should be made aware that if they are unable to get involved they should feel free to drop out of the program. In no way should such parents be made to feel that they are not doing their duty or that they exhibit prejudice because they cannot carry out the program.

Each host parent group seems to operate differently. In Lake Oswego, more group activities are organized. Since the Lake Oswego paired parents were not interviewed, the differences cannot be evaluated. Host parents in Beaverton should consider the Lake Oswego experience for use in Beaverton. However, it is important to remember that some host parents stated that they did not want to become involved in a lot of organized group gatherings for fear it would destroy the spontaneity of the relationships which are beginning to develop.

Having a paid Host Parent Coordinator directly responsible to the district administration appears to be a very effective means of taking care of whatever organizational tasks need to be done. In many ways this Coordinator has begun to serve as an informal resource person and "trouble shooter" for the principals to turn to when special situations arise. This helps to prevent any increase of job responsibilities for the principal, who often feels that he has his hands full anyway. The Host Parent Coordinator role also provides the district administration a channel to keep in better touch with what is happening on the "grass roots level," i.e., among the parents and students. Such contact does in no way circumvent or undercut the responsible authority of the teacher and the principal. The Host Parents

Coordinator is the person who aids the school personnel and the parents of the transferred student as well as the host parents whenever problem situations arise.

The Host Parent Program is valuable because it provides the structure for possible intercommunity contact. It is a structure which helps to break through old segregation barriers. Although no program, however well-planned, can overcome all barriers, we feel certain that some form of the host parent program can be increasingly useful in providing the framework for real interaction and understanding.

The overall effect of the Host Parent Program seemed to be positive. A few suggested improvements should be undertaken in order to increase the reality of the dual goal of assuring the parents of transferred students that their child's health and safety will not be jeopardized and of offering a means of bridging the gap between the communities.

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The following is a summary listing of the major findings and recommendations identified by the study team members as dealing directly with the concerns discussed in the interviews and analyzed in the body of the paper.

1. Consider any student eligible to participate in the suburban transfer program who is eligible to be a regular student in the sending district.
2. Undertake community-wide dissemination in the sending district of information about the suburban transfer program.
3. Increase the number of minority students to a minimum of four per classroom.
4. Use a random selection of regular students who have volunteered to participate in the event that fewer spaces than students are available.
5. Consider a plan of voluntary busing from the suburban schools to the Area II sending schools.
6. Adapt the (formal and informal) curriculum to include not only an appreciation for a variety of black historical figures, but also the interplay of events and people important to the condition of race relations.
7. Expand the host parents/paired parents program to include more parents per bused child.

A Major Recommendation -- On reflection, the team members realize there were many questions which could have been raised in this evaluative

report, but were not. By no means do they feel that the coverage given the program is complete. This evaluation is seen as only a beginning. Having an outside agency responsible for the evaluation is essential for perspective. However, given adequate time and organizational access, the personnel and resources in the districts involved should participate more actively in the evaluation. This was originally suggested by the Area II administration. In addition, an ongoing process of evaluation with immediate feedback into the classroom should be developed. The inservice training program suggested herein could be developed into such a feedback system.

Such an inservice training program should involve a somewhat different approach than that which is normally taken. An intensive training period of relatively short duration is an ineffective means of providing the resources and skills which are necessary for making the integrated classroom the powerful learning experience which it has the potential to be. Therefore, it is suggested that an initial period of intensive training followed by regular, perhaps monthly, evaluation of the classroom experience be instituted.

In order to insure useful feedback and strengthen the communication between the teachers and the Area II parents, it is suggested that the following techniques be employed in such an inservice program:

1. Small group discussions involving both parents and teachers of transfer students.
2. Video-taping of classrooms and playgrounds for use in the small group discussions.

3. Periodic, open-ended interviews of both bused and suburban students about their school experience. (This interviewing should be done by non-instructional, non-administrative personnel whom individual students see as an ally in whom they have confidence.)
4. Reading materials describing the experience of black people in the U.S.
5. Temporary exchanges of teachers between suburban districts and Area II.

In addition, the team recommends the hiring of black people in professional positions in the suburban schools particularly where Model Schools funds have been transferred to the suburban districts because of increased enrollment.

Many of the problems discussed by the parents, students, teachers, and principals resulted from a lack of strong and thorough administrative pre-planning. Such results are expected when a program is started as late as was this one. In order to insure that such is not the case in the future, there should begin immediately inter-district staff meetings. Such meetings should involve the principals in the buildings receiving transferred students and other administrative staffs responsible for the program in Area II or the suburbs. Considerable time should be allocated for preparation this summer followed by monthly inter-district staff meetings during the school year to solve new problems which will naturally arise as a stronger program develops.

As a final suggestion, decision-making mechanisms must be developed so that Area II parents will be engaged in the determination of policy and the evaluation of programs. Presently, Area II parents do not feel they are in such a position but are beginning to realize that white parents in some of the suburban districts are in such a position as was witnessed by last summer's

public discussion concerning suburban involvement in the busing program. Black people throughout the country are determined to participate in decisions affecting their lives. Their political consciousness and ideas as well as the power to implement their determination is developing at a rapid rate. Therefore, reason, the saliency of education for black people, and present developments in black America lead one to conclude that the leadership of black parents should be immediately utilized in the development of educational programs such as this.

A P P E N D I X

A statement of the methodology used in evaluating the busing program has already been given in the main body of the report. It should be re-emphasized here that few specific questions were asked the respondents. The emphasis was to allow the interviewee to express his own opinions, pose his own questions, and discuss his own solutions. It must be understood that within some sets of comments, one person may have mentioned more than one item or none at all. Therefore, the number of responses usually does not equal the number of respondents. Lastly, while this unstructured method used does not give a great degree of order to the responses, they are presented as systematically as possible. They have been segregated into three general classifications: (1) views of the busing program; (2) perceptions of teachers and teaching; and (3) expectations and plans for the future. Under each of these three headings, the responses appear in the following sequence: parents of bused students, parents of non-bused students, bused students, and non-bused students. The number following each response indicates the number of times that reaction occurred.

PARENTS OF BUSED STUDENTS (N=23)

(Includes at least two who had both bused and non-bused children.)

Desirability of the program as a whole

Yes (13) Qualified yes (7) Qualified no (1)

Qualifications mentioned

Needed more bused children (2)
Needed more information about program (3)
Two-way busing was necessary (6)
Distance was a disadvantage (8)
Children had not been fairly selected (3)
Whites were benefiting more from the program than black people (2)
Improvement of race relations and white people's images of black people were important considerations for suburban schools (6)

Advantages mentioned

Increased homework, more and better books brought home (8)
Classrooms were less crowded (7)
Bused children had progressed academically (4)
Less fighting (6)
Better teaching (4)
More and better facilities (6)
More contact with variety of people, broader outlook on life by children (9)
Would aid children to have broader choice of careers and future (4)
Children liked school better (6)

Parents mentioned fighting as a serious problem of the city schools (4)

Parents' summary contrast of the two school districts--suburban schools are better than city schools

Yes (13) Should be the same (7) No (0)
Qualified (1) Didn't know (2)

PARENTS OF NON-BUSED STUDENTS (N=20)

Parents not contacted by Area II about busing who would like their children bused (2)

With qualifications (8)

PARENTS OF NON-BUSED STUDENTS (N=20), continued

Qualifications included
- If students were randomly selected (3)
- If two-way busing were initiated (4)
- If more black students were bused (2)
- If brothers and sisters would not attend different schools (3)
- If it were known that black children would be welcome (7)
- If black children were allowed to finish school in suburbs (1)
- If there were more information about the program (3)

Parents contacted by Area II about busing who refused to have their children bused (6)

Parents not contacted by Area II about busing and did not want their children bused (4)

Parents' summary view of the program

Should be: continued (5); discontinued (1); modified (6)

Parents' summary contrast of the two school districts--suburban schools are better than city schools

No	(2)	Should be the same	(4)	Don't know	(1)
Yes	(3)	No difference	(4)		

BUSED STUDENTS (N=26)

Students' opinion of busing program
- Approved and thought highly of the program (6)
- Did not favor the program (5)
- Indifferent (1)
- Qualified rather than definite (13)

Points mentioned in favor of the program
- One could make more friends (10)
- Fewer fights (9)
- Suburban schools had more or better facilities (8)
- Teachers were better and/or nicer (6)
- One could learn more (6)
- There were not as many black children as in the city (2)
- Less crowded (1)
- Had better recesses (3)

BUSED STUDENTS (N=26), continued

Points mentioned against the program

Children missed their friends in the city schools	(9)
Their old friends did not like them being bused	(7)
Not enough black children in suburban schools	(8)
Distance too great	(2)
Had been called names	(8)
Didn't feel as if they belonged	(11)
Didn't get to play with their new friends in suburban schools enough	(2)
Didn't like waiting for and riding the bus	(2)
Teachers were nicer and/or better in the city schools	(1)
Had more fun in the city schools	(3)

Said they did harder work in the suburban schools (5)

Suggested two-way busing (1)

Mentioned that their black friends would like to be bused (5)

Students' summary contrast of the two school districts--suburban schools are better than city schools

Yes	(10)	Qualified	(11)	Different	(1)
No	(3)	Same	(1)	Didn't know	(2)

NON-BUSED STUDENTS (N=28)

(Including three persons who dropped out of the program)

Would like to be bused

Yes	(11 -- 2 dropouts)	Hadn't heard about program	(5)
No	(6 -- 1 dropout)	Not asked or did not mention busing program	(4)
Don't know	(2)		

Reasons given for wanting to be bused

Had friends who liked suburban schools	(5)
Teachers were better or nicer	(3)
More or better facilities	(4)
Less crowded	(3)
Present school was bad	(3)
Children in city schools were bad or fought too much	(12)
Broader experiences available, learn about others	(2)
One could learn more	(3)
Merely said they would like to change schools	(2)

NON-BUSED STUDENTS (N=28), continued

Reasons given for *not* wanting to be bused

Merely said they did not wish to change schools	(2)
Said they would not know anyone or have any friends	(3)
Liked the schools they presently attended	(2)
Liked present teacher	(1)
Distance was too great	(3)
Liked their present friends too well to leave	(2)
Suburban kids would stare or call you names	(2)
Would be no black kids out there	(2)
Suburban people were prejudiced	(2)

Students' summary contrast of two school districts--suburban schools are better than city schools

Yes	(9)	Different	(1)
No	(1)	No difference	(1)

PARENTS OF BUSED STUDENTS (N=23)

(Includes at least two who had both bused and non-bused children)

Of parents asked about or volunteering information concerning the teaching of black history and black curriculum in elementary schools

Yes -- as separate curriculum	(3)
Yes -- not as separate curriculum	(4)
No	(0)

Parents' perception of differences between black and white teachers

Only one parent mentioned that he did not feel black teachers were necessarily better for black children (see parents of non-bused students for comparison)

PARENTS OF NON-BUSED STUDENTS (N=20)

Of parents asked about or volunteering information concerning the teaching of black history and black curriculum in elementary school

Yes	(9)
No	(1)

Parents' perception of differences between black and white teachers

Should be more black teachers in city schools	(6)
Black teachers worked better for black children	(2)
Parents could speak better with, felt freer with black teachers	(1)
White teachers are prejudiced	(2)
White teachers do not understand the problems with which black people must deal	(1)
Black teachers are not necessary in city schools	(3)
If black teachers did not care about the children, they were no better than white teachers	(3)

When parents asked their children's Area II teachers how their children were progressing, the teachers would say the children were doing well, when in fact the parents felt strongly that their children were not learning anything (2)

BUSED STUDENTS (N=26)

Comments concerning teachers

Students who said they liked their teacher in suburbs	(14)
Students who said they did not like their teacher in suburbs	(1)
Indifferent	(5)

Y

BUSED STUDENTS (N-26), continued

Comparison with last year's teacher

Same	(6)	Didn't know	(2)
Better	(6)	Were not asked or did not volunteer information	(12)
Worse	(0)		

Qualities of a good teacher

Helps you with your work	(7)
Does things with you	(6)
Teaches well	(5)
Gave you a warning before punishing you	(2)
Is not mean	(3)

Qualities of a bad teacher

Yells at you	(6)
Was mean to you	(2)
Blamed you for things you didn't do	(2)
Gave too much work	(1)
Wouldn't help you enough	(1)

Rules are necessary to prevent fighting, children getting hurt, etc.	(5)
Saw the rules as helpful and necessary	(6)
Didn't like the rules or thought they were unfair	(3)
Said that students helped to make some of the rules (through class officers, etc.)	(4)
Said that students should get to help make the rules	(1)

NON-BUSED STUDENTS (N=28)
(Including three persons who dropped out of the program)

Comments concerning teachers

Students who said they liked their teacher	(16)
Students who did not like their teacher	(4)
Indifferent	(6)

Comparison with last year's teacher

Same	(6)	Were not asked or did not volunteer information	(16)
Better	(2)		
Worse	(4)		

NON-BUSED STUDENTS (N=28), continued
(Including three persons who dropped out of the program)

Qualities of a good teacher

Help you do your work	(5)
Tells you stories	(2)
Taught well	(2)
Was pretty	(2)
Does not yell at you	(2)
Did things with you	(4)
Gave you a warning before sending you home	(1)

Qualities of a bad teacher

Blames you for things you don't do	(4)
Were mean to you	(3)
Yelled at you	(3)
Made you stay after school	(1)
Told children that their parents didn't care about them because parents would not sign notes sent home	(1)
Didn't give you enough time to do your work	(2)
Wouldn't help you	(3)

Students who wished that more Negro history and more about black people were taught in school (4)

Rules

Are necessary to prevent fighting, children getting hurt, etc.	(4)
Saw the rules as helpful and necessary	(13)
Did not like the rules or thought they were unfair	(8)
Said students helped to make some of the rules	(2)
Said teachers should make all of the rules (rather than students)	(1)
Said that there were rules against fighting but sometimes you have to fight	(1)

PARENTS OF BUSED STUDENTS (N=23)

(Includes at least two who had both bused and non-bused children)

Parents' expectations of their children and plans for the future	
Mentioned college as important, necessary, or desirable for their children	(8)
Wanted their children to do whatever they wanted	(6)
No particular plans	(4)
Build cars	(1)
Electrician	(1)
Nurse	(11)

PARENTS OF NON-BUSED STUDENTS (N=20)

Parents' expectations of their children and plans for the future	
Mentioned college as important, necessary, or desirable for their children	(11)
Wanted their children to do whatever they wanted	(8)
No particular plans	(1)
Doctor	(1)
Teacher	(1)
Telephone operator	(1)

BUSED STUDENTS (N=26)

Children's expectations of themselves and plans for the future	
Mentioned plans for college	(4)
Teacher	(4)
Nurse	(2)
Carpenter	(2)
Fireman	(2)
Sports	(1)
Pilot	(1)
Lawyer	(1)
Business manager	(1)
Secretary	(1)
Doctor	(1)
Policeman	(1)
Postman	(1)
Truck driver	(1)
Build things	(1)

BUSED STUDENTS (N=26), continued

TV programs mentioned

Julia	(6)
Bewitched	(1)
Gilligan's Island	(5)
Land of Giants	(2)
Mod Squad	(4)
McHale's Navy	(1)

NON-BUSED STUDENTS (N=28)

(Including three persons who dropped out of the program)

Children's expectations of themselves and plans for the future

Mentioned plans for college	(4)
Wanted to do what their parents did	(4)
Nurse	(9)
Don't know	(5)
Teacher	(2)
Policeman	(2)
Store clerk	(1)
Pilot	(1)
Sports	(1)
Doctor	(1)

TV programs mentioned and/or enjoyed

Julia	(9)
Popeye	(2)
Flintstones	(2)
Bewitched	(2)
One Life to Live	(1)
Mod Squad	(1)
Tom Jones	(1)
General Hospital	(1)
McHale's Navy	(1)